

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 126809

EXDIS, TOSEC 195

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR,NATO

SUBJECT: NATOMIN: SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS ON AGENDA

ITEM CSCE

THE FOLLOWING ARE SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS ON CSCE:

-- FOR A QUARTER OF A CENTURY, DIVISION HAS BEEN THE  
DOMINANT FEATURE OF EUROPE. DEEPLY ROOTED POLITICAL  
REALITIES HAVE CREATED A SITUATION WHICH WILL NOT EASILY  
CHANGE. WE ALL HOPE FOR A CONTINENT OPEN TO THE FREE FLOW  
OF PEOPLES AND IDEAS, ONE ENRICHED RATHER THAN DIVIDED  
BY INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY.

-- BUT OUR EXPECTATIONS MUST BE REALISTIC. PEACE IS THE  
HIGHEST MORAL IMPERATIVE IN A WORLD SHADOWED BY THE DANGER  
OF NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST. WE ARE ALL CONSCIOUS THAT THE TWO  
WORLD WARS BEGAN IN EUROPE. THUS THERE IS NO RATIONAL  
ALTERNATIVE TO THE PURSUIT OF A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS.  
PEACE MUST BE OUR FIRST ALTHOUGH NOT OUR ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE.

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-- WE HAVE HEARD FREQUENT EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN THAT THE UNITED STATES MIGHT SACRIFICE OUR ALLIES' OBJECTIVES AT CSCE FOR SOME PURPOSE OF OUR OWN. IT IS NO SECRET THAT WE WERE LESS THAN ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE CONVENING OF THIS CONFERENCE AND THAT OUR EXPECTATIONS FOR ITS OUTCOME HAVE

BEEN LIMITED. BUT I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT WE INTEND TO CONTINUE TO CONSULT FULLY WITH OUR ALLIES ON CSCE. FOR EXAMPLE, WE RECONSIDERED OUR OPPOSITION TO A SEPARATE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION WHEN IT BECAME APPARENT THAT MOST ALLIES FAVORED SUCH A DECLARATION.

-- LET US DISCUSS TODAY WHAT OUR APPROACH SHOULD BE AND WHAT WE CAN EXPECT FROM CSCE.

-- THE QUESTION IS ESSENTIALLY HOW MUCH DO WE WANT MOSCOW TO CONCEDE IN RETURN FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE. WE HAVE ALREADY USED THE SOVIET UNION'S DESIRE FOR THE CONFERENCE TO HELP ACHIEVE A BERLIN AGREEMENT AND TO LAUNCH THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. IN OTHER AREAS, TOO, IT IS AT LEAST ARGUABLE THAT SOVIET INTEREST IN A SUCCESSFUL CSCE HAS SERVED TO MODERATE THEIR CONDUCT. THUS, THE CSCE PROCESS MAY ALREADY HAVE SERVED OUR INTERESTS RATHER WELL.

-- WHAT POINTS, THEN, SHOULD WE INSIST UPON WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE CONFERENCE AGENDA ITSELF.

-- FIRST, MY GOVERNMENT UNDERSTANDS AND SHARES THE CONCERN OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY THAT NOTHING SHOULD EMERGE FROM THE CONFERENCE THAT WOULD SEEM TO RATIFY THE DIVISION OF GERMANY OR UNDERMINE CONTINUING QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE WILL SUPPORT FRG AND ALLIED EFFORTS TO OBTAIN SATISFACTION, WITHIN THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION, ON THE ISSUES OF PEACEFUL CHANGES OF BORDERS AND ON THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

-- SECOND, WE SHARE THE GENERAL ALLIED VIEW THAT WE SHOULD SEEK TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT ON MEASURES THAT MAY ENHANCE OUR  
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SECURITY, EVEN IF marginally. THUS WE SUPPORT SIGNIFICANT MEASURES COVERING PREANNOUNCEMENT OF MANEUVERS. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT REASONABLE COMPROMISES IN GAINING CSCE AGREEMENT TO SUCH MEASURES. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT, IF THE ALLIES OBTAIN SATISFACTION ON MANEUVERS, THEY SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DROP A COMPARABLE MEASURE ON TROOP MOVEMENTS.

-- THIRD, AS FOR THE MOST DIFFICULT ISSUES, WHICH ARE THOSE IN BASKET 3, I THINK REALISM COMPELS US TO SET MODEST GOALS. WE CANNOT ERASE THE LEGACY OF CENTURIES OF RUSSIAN HISTORY IN A FEW MONTHS OF NEGOTIATIONS. WE CAN AND SHOULD, HOWEVER, URGE UPON MOSCOW THE NEED FOR FURTHER

FLEXIBILITY IN THIS AREA, BUILDING UPON RECENT MINOR SOVIET CONCESSIONS RELATING TO FAMILY CONTACTS AND REUNIFICATION AS WELL AS ACCESS TO INFORMATION.

-- IT MAY WELL BE THAT GENERAL LANGUAGE, WHICH REFLECTS SOME UNDERSTANDING FOR THE BASIC SOVIET DOCTRINAL POSITION ON THESE MATTERS, WILL MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE SOVIETS TO OFFER PRACTICAL CONCESSIONS. THUS, THE FINNISH PROPOSAL FOR INCLUDING A REFERENCE TO RESPECT FOR "LEGISLATIVE AND REGULATORY SYSTEMS" IN THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION MAY POINT THE WAY TOWARD AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION IN BASKET 3. FOR OUR PART, WE SHALL CERTAINLY CONTINUE TO IMPRESS UPON THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT THE NEED FOR PROGRESS IN THIS AREA.

-- FOURTH, WITH RESPECT TO ACTIVITIES AFTER THE CONFERENCE, WE SHARE WHAT APPEARS TO BE THE GENERAL VIEW THAT WE SHOULD HOLD FOR THE TIME BEING TO THE PROPOSAL TABLED ON BEHALF OF THE NINE MEMBERS OF THE EC CALLING FOR A THREE YEAR POST-CSCE PROBATIONARY PERIOD FOLLOWED BY A MEETING OF SENIOR OFFICIALS TO REVIEW IMPLEMENTATION OF CONFERENCE AGREEMENTS.

-- AT THE SUMMIT, WE EXPECT THE SOVIETS TO PRESS US FOR AGREEMENT ON A RAPID CONCLUSION TO THE TALKS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL. OUR OWN PRESENT VIEW IS THAT THE FINAL PHASE MAY WELL NOT TAKE PLACE BEFORE SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER. WE WILL  
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TELL THIS TO THE SOVIETS, WHILE POINTING OUT THAT WE HAVE NO BASIC INTEREST IN SLOWING DOWN THE PROCESS, WHILE THERE IS MUCH THEY CAN DO TO ACCELERATE IT. AS YOU ARE AWARE, WE HAVE NO OBJECTIONS TO A CONCLUSION AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL PROVIDED THE PARTICIPANTS JUDGE THE RESULTS TO WARRANT IT. WE WILL MAKE THIS CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS, WHILE INDICATING THAT SERIOUS PROBLEMS REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED AND THAT THEY MUST BE PREPARED TO COMPROMISE TO MEET THE INTERESTS OF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS IF THEY WANT TO OBTAIN THEIR OWN OBJECTIVE OF A HIGH-LEVEL CONCLUSION.

-- IN THAT CONNECTION, WE SHARE THE DISAPPOINTMENT WHICH MANY GOVERNMENTS REPRESENTED HERE HAVE EXPRESSED AT THE SLOW PACE OF PROGRESS AT GENEVA.

-- HOWEVER, WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT ADVISABLE TO SUGGEST  
IN THE COMMUNIQUE OR IN DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS THAT THE TALKS  
MIGHT BE INTERRUPTED, OR IN ANY OTHER WAY TO SEEM TO BE

GIVING THE SOVIETS AN ULTIMATUM. INSTEAD, WE BELIEVE THE  
ALLIES SHOULD BE PATIENT AND WORK THROUGH PERSUASION FOR  
A REASONABLE OUTCOME.

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